

# The Commons

MARCH, 1904

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GRAHAM TAYLOR, *Editor*

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# The Commons

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Eighth Year

Chicago, March, 1904

## With The Editor

### The Loss of a Peacemaker

The loss of Mr. Hanna's personality will longer be felt by the industrial interests of the country than by the political bodies in which he was so influential. Their ranks have closed up already. From many other leaders there will be found men enough to man the positions he held. But who is there of as great influence in the business or official life of the country to step in between the lines of capital and labor and stand there to mediate a just peace? "It is the object to which I desire to consecrate the remaining years of my life," wrote this foremost man in our practical politics, with reference to the National Civic Federation as the agency through which he hoped to work for this end. The notable article on "Socialism and Labor Unions," which was announced as the outline of his life work, appeared in the National Magazine the very month he died. His proposed plan for the future became the best estimate of his closed career. What he had thus only just begun to do was of greater significance than all his remarkable campaign service to his party or his efficient businesslike work in the Senate. Where men approach the very line of battle in the spirit with which he wrote his last appeal to his countrymen for peace without dishonor to either side of this great issue, "There will always be a neutral ground," as he firmly believed to the end, "where conflicting interests can meet, confer and adjust themselves, a sort of Hague tribunal, if you please, in the everyday affairs of life, where all can meet with the honest determination to do what is right, meeting bravely the conditions as they change and seizing the opportunity as it offers for the betterment of all the people."

### With Mr. Hanna for Peace or With Mr. Parry for War?

It looks as though our employers would have to choose between Mr. Hanna's sanely reasonable policy of adjustment and Mr. Parry's no-quarter war cry indiscriminately raised against the whole "propaganda of labor unionism in the United States and the everyday practical workings thereof" as "revolutionary and subversive of the rights and the liberties of the great body of the people." There is no question of the choice between these two policies which the radical state socialists are making. One of their most uncompromising agitators was heard to exclaim, "Give us Parry rather than Hanna to help our cause." On the other hand, John Mitchell, who well represents the conservative majorities in trade unionism and the American Federation of Labor, evidently has grown out of Mr. Parry's acute angle into Mr. Hanna's industrial statesmanship. To the miners, whom he called to pay their tribute of silent respect while the body of the late senator was being borne to its burial, he addressed these sensible words: "When I was younger I used to view the labor question differently. I remember the time when I regarded my employer as my natural enemy. I thought it was my business to fight him continually, and I felt it was the sphere of the unions to antagonize the bosses at every point. A fight is sometimes necessary, I still recognize. But the best interests of both parties are best served, I now appreciate, by establishing harmonious relations between them. I believe there is no irreconcilable conflict between capital and labor."

## Infantile Complaints of Young Organizations

It may confidently be presumed that most experienced employers feel toward the new Citizens' Industrial Association of America very much as old trade unionists do toward new unions. To those familiar with the history of such organizations of employers and employes there is a marked similarity in the experiences through which each of them seems fated to run. In the earlier stages of their career they are sure to regard themselves as mere fighting machines. Their list of "grievances" generally start out with some very real ones, such as the association undoubtedly has. But they suddenly become as all inclusive as the indictment of the English government by our colonial forefathers, which, to say the least, seems a bit excessive when read in the calmer temper with which history invests us. Every right-minded citizen, and none more emphatically than we, will make common cause with the association in putting up the sternest possible front against "contempt for law and the constituted authorities" as expressed in violence and intimidation. These crimes call not only for suppression at the hand of the full police power of the state, but for the public disavowal of any organization with which such acts or their perpetrators may be even remotely connected. Labor unions cannot afford to shield them by silence, or not to join with the civil authorities in bringing the guilty individuals to justice. But to sweep into one dustpan all legislation for an eight-hour day, the arbitration of industrial disputes and the regulation of the power of injunction, together with any use of "the label," and even the legality of collective bargaining, all to be utterly condemned because "socialism and anarchism must not be allowed any foothold in this country," is a begging of big questions which American common sense and fair play, not to say intelligence, will not long or widely tolerate. Not more open to criticism are specific measures promotive of these ends than are the ends

themselves open to frank and fearless discussion and difference of opinion. Scare-head advocacy will not be taken seriously for reasoning. It is quite too frantic and panic-stricken a tocsin with which either to line up employers more really conscious of their strength, or very greatly to alarm the law-abiding rank and file of labor conscious of their rights under the common law.

## Managers' Tribute to Men

Happily representatives of the greatest employing corporations have long since been accustomed to speak in a very different tone and spirit of their labor associates. In striking contrast is the latest instance in point. The high executive officer of one of our great railroad systems having public occasion to refer to the men in railway service, said: "There is no large class of men to match the railroad man in his devotion to duty, his capacity for self-sacrifice, his purpose of public service, his sense of the unity of our great country." In accounting for the fact that, as a class, they have improved more in manners and morals than the various communities of which they form a part and have become better fitted to perform the public service required of them, this representative of the largest employers attributes it not only to the company's organization of its service, but to "the principle of co-operation among the men themselves and the psychological motive of loyalty which their brotherhoods have added." The type of railroad man he did not hesitate to consider as the product also of "the steady rise in the standard of living" due to the organization and co-operation of both the companies and their men. Arguing from wide experience within railway relations, he urged that industrial corporations "must be shown that an improvement in the type of their employes is real to them, and that by at once improving the men's social surroundings and saving the men's money they can expect to maintain better feeling." This "better feeling" he thought to be of sufficient economic value to warrant the investment of employers' capital in any organized effort to bring it about.

## Not the New Immigrant, But the Old American

Fear of a "barbaric horde" to overrun and destroy western civilization is as persistent as any other popular superstitious dread. Even in America we have not seemed able to free ourselves from the old, inherent dread of migratory "hordes." It is an inherited prejudice with enormous powers of distortion which changes the hundreds of thousands of homeseeking, breadseeking foreigners into a terrible, menacing "horde."

Strangely, many who know the immigrants best fear them the least. Dr. Steiner, professor of Applied Christianity at Iowa College, has lived with the emigrant classes in Austria-Hungary and Russia and has acquired intimate acquaintance with immigrants in transit by making eight or ten voyages with them in the steerage. Briefly he said in a recent address:

"The new immigrant is not the real peril of the country to-day. It is the old American; for the new immigrant is what the old American makes him. It is the honestly dissatisfied, but at the same time ambitious and energetic man who comes to our shores. His lot may be bad, but it is much better than that of the man who stays behind because he has not the spirit to be dissatisfied with dire poverty; not the ambition to take steps to better his lot; nor the energy to traverse half a continent and cross the Atlantic ocean to find a realization of himself.

"Europe envies us the men we take away from her. If they later become undesirable, it is because the old American has made them so. They are given suffrage before they understand what it means that they may abuse their citizenship for some political swindler. Immigrants are put up as 'easy marks'; they are swindled, cheated and deceived. Coming from the paternalistic governments of Europe, the immigrant first feels his power of personality when taught to abuse it by the old American. The immigrant's vote is bought with money or a drink; at first he is unwittingly made

a party in corruption. The officers of the law teach him his first disrespect for the law. Seized upon by the worst element in America for political and other purposes, the new immigrant is thoroughly 'Americanized' in the worst manner. And then, if he goes as far or further than his American teachers, they point to Europe and say, 'See what you are sending us. Keep the immigrants out!'"

## The Passing Shadow on a Fair Fame

It is not without sincere regret for the facts of Grand Rapids' shame that we publish the notably straightforward and authoritative recital of them by one of her most loyal citizens. No city in the country has had a better opportunity to make itself a model of municipal beauty and administration. With the natural advantage of a charming site and with a population of a progressive spirit, having the sturdiest working class at its base and the finest culture flowering at the top, the city had been widely and justly regarded as one of the best types of our American municipalities. The dark shadows which, let us hope only for this once, have sullied its justly fair fame are cast not, indeed, by the body of its citizenship, but by a band of conspirators who are sternly, swiftly and surely being brought to justice. And yet to the charge of that blind party allegiance which made their power and shame possible the body of citizens have proved their self-confessed guilt.

This calmest and most complete review of the situation which has yet been furnished shows not only to the people of Grand Rapids but to most other American cities the inexcusable folly and sinister results of easy-going partisanship and the "good fellow" policy in city government which have brought upon American municipal administration the contempt of the world. Not to spread our common shame, but to help us one and all rise out of it and live above it, as Grand Rapids is nobly doing, we publish this amazing statement of fact elicited and attested at the bar of superbly administered justice.

# Buying Up a City Administration

## The Grand Rapids Water-Works Conspiracy Reviewed by One of Its Citizens

With its ex-mayor, fourteen members of the City Council, a member of the Board of Public Works, a state senator and the managers of all three of the daily papers tried or awaiting trial on charges of bribery, conspiracy or perjury, and with its city attorney recently released from two years' imprisonment in the House of Correction, and eligible for a longer term, Grand Rapids is in the throes of the most far-reaching scandals in municipal affairs ever suffered by any community.

The city of Grand Rapids, Mich., has a population of nearly or quite 100,000. It is a typical manufacturing town of the better class, surrounded by farms of great productiveness and value. It is a city of homes. No town in the Union, except perhaps Philadelphia, surpasses it in the proportion of home owners to home occupants. Beautiful in situation, it is roomy and well kept. Its streets are wide, well paved and well shaded. Its homes have plenty of light and air. The tenement block is almost unknown, and nowhere in the town is there a "Bowery or Five Points," nor any section that can be pointed out as particularly vicious or squalid. Its population is cosmopolitan, the largest foreign element being from the Netherlands. Probably more than one-quarter of the city's people are Dutch emigrants, or the first generation of descent therefrom. Germans are next in number, and following them are the Poles, while every nation of Europe is represented in smaller degree. The American population, not native to Michigan, are mostly from New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The city is thoroughly equipped with public schools and has one hundred and one churches, of which twenty-seven are Dutch in some form.

The city has a reputation, and deserves it, for culture and progress. It has been nearly free from turmoil of every kind, and especially free from labor strikes and differences between

capital and employes. It is even now growing rapidly, and its business extending as fast as ever in its history, if not faster.

Notwithstanding all this, however, just now it is advertised far and wide as the place of one of the most far-reaching scandals in municipal affairs ever suffered by any community.

The registered voters of the town number something more than 20,000, of whom probably one-quarter, at least, are Dutch or of immediate Dutch descent.

### THE CITY GOVERNMENT.

The city is governed by a mayor and Common Council and has appointed boards of public works, of police and fire commissioners, of health, of assessors, and an elective school board. Government by boards, limiting the powers of the Common Council, has come about through charter changes during the last twenty years.

The Common Council is composed of two aldermen from each ward, one-half of the council being elected each year, and, for the last six years, the mayor has held office for a two-year term, the term of the mayoralty prior to that being for one year.

Twenty years ago the police and fire departments were under immediate control of the Council. A little less than twenty years ago the charter was amended and the board of police and fire commissioners raised, a board of five men named by the mayor. His appointments are final, the Council having no voice in the matter. One man is appointed each year to serve for five years. The board of public works is similarly organized.

The police board has exclusive control of the police force, its appointments, regulation and discipline, and a two-term mayor can organize it to his taste, having in the course of two terms four appointments; so that in the first year of his second term he can have a majority of his friends, if he appoints on that basis, a majority that

cannot be broken until the first year of his second successor's term. The charter change providing for this board was intended to remove the police department from politics, and for fifteen years the board has kept fairly divided as to the politics of its members. With few exceptions, positions upon the board were filled with men of high personal quality, although "politics" have always prevailed in Grand Rapids in aldermanic and mayoralty elections. No non-partison or independent was ever elected mayor, nor, as I recall, was such a candidate ever elected alderman. Mayors and aldermen have ever been Republicans or Democrats, or, in their day, Greenbackers.

The organization of the police board will be seen to be the one spot wherein the personal equation in city government can most make itself felt. This board and the personality of the mayor were the center of things in the city politics of Grand Rapids for the four years from 1898 to 1902.

Until one year ago the city attorney was elected by the Common Council, but is now elected by the people at large. The city attorney referred to in this article was the appointee of the Common Council.

For the past eight or ten years the salary of the aldermen has been \$350 per year. Prior to that time it was \$100 per year. The mayor now, and for several years last past, has had a salary of \$1,200 per annum. Prior to that time his salary was \$200. With this necessarily brief introduction we come to a recitation of some of the facts connected with our present unsavory prominence.

#### NEED OF GOOD WATER.

Since 1872 the city has owned and operated a water system of its own, although a feeble private company has a half-developed system in operation also. Numerous efforts have been made to exploit this private system on its own account, but always unsuccessfully, and several schemes have been put afoot to sell the private company to the city, or to buy the city's plant for the benefit of a private enterprise,

which would include the old private company.

Originally the source of the city's water supply was a small brook rising in a near-by lake, pumped from a settling basin directly to the pipes. The rapid growth of the town made this source entirely inadequate years ago. Besides, the small lake became a much-frequented resort and the waters thereof much polluted, and the city became more and more built on the banks of the brook, making still more impurities in the supply. Then the city went to Grand River, a source of supply not only abundant and exhaustless, but of doubtful quality, for the intake of the city's pumps is about one-half mile above a high dam used for power purposes, and hence within the mill pond; and the intake is only about two miles below a soldiers' home having some eight hundred inmates, and two and one-half mile below two tanneries, all of which direct their sewerage into the river. Almost anyone would conclude that water from such a source would be not only open to suspicion, but positively to be condemned. So great, in fact, is the distrust of the city's supply that two or three companies prosper in furnishing drinking water in bottles from springs in the suburbs, and it is safe to say that the majority of the well-to-do buy this drinking water at a uniform price of five cents per gallon. Yet the death rate of the city is low.

#### AGITATION FOR BETTER WATER SUPPLY.

For many years a more or less vigorous agitation for a better water supply has been going on and different committees and commissions from time to time have investigated and reported. Schemes for issuing bonds with which to pay for such a new supply have been two or three times voted down by the city, and nothing has been accomplished in the line of obtaining any other supply than Grand River.

In 1900 the mayor of the town, serving the first year of a second term, announced that Grand Rapids must have a better water supply, and that one of the principal objects of his official life would be to obtain it.

In the early summer appeared a promoter from New York with a scheme to bring water to Grand Rapids from Lake Michigan, a distance of thirty miles or more. He represented that he was ready to invest some \$4,000,000 in a plant for the purpose, on condition that the city would enter into a contract with his company to take, for fifty years, a minimum quantity of water per day at a price that would cost the city about one thousand dollars or more per day.

In the meantime the mayor and his personal organ were advocating, as a source of water supply, some springs north of the town and ostensibly opposing the Lake Michigan scheme.

Without, at this time, going into the history of the agitation during the summer, such things were done that in September, 1900, the board of public works (apparently being ready to recommend a contract with the promoter, and having been advised by the opinion of the attorney of the promoter's New York friends that no such contract could be entered into without an opportunity being offered to the public at large to bid, and without an advertisement on the part of the city to that effect), ordered publication, for the period of *five days*, of a notice inviting bids for a contract to furnish the city with water from Lake Michigan, and requiring each bidder to deposit, as an earnest of good faith, a certified check for \$100,000.

#### POPULAR SUSPICION.

While there had been more or less discussion during the summer in the papers and out of the papers, as to the practicability of such a scheme, and while from mouth to mouth among citizens, not only criticisms of such a scheme as a business proposition, but open charges of probable fraud in the deal were being passed, the publication was continued for the five days, and at the end thereof two bids were submitted to the board of public works, and two checks for \$100,000 each were deposited. The bids with the checks were, on the same

day, referred by the Common Council to a special committee on the subject of a pure-water supply, which had been previously appointed. No formal hearings were had before the committee and nothing definite was heard on the subject for about a month, though rumor was still rife and suspicion of the whole deal more or less openly expressed. At the end of that time the mayor announced, at a meeting of the Council, that he had investigated the matter of the checks which had been deposited and that the parties certifying one were of no responsibility at all, and that the trust company certifying the other did not exist. Meanwhile the promoter had returned to New York.

#### BIDS RETURNED.

Upon this exposure the Council ordered both bids returned, and then ordered publication for *three months* of a notice to contractors to bid on a Lake Michigan supply, and such advertisement was at once made and continued.

The proposed contract as a business proposition was so ruinous to the property interests of the town that few people of business capacity believed it practicable. This fact, together with rumors that would not be suppressed, led to a growing conviction that somewhere inhered in the scheme gross corruption, and the finger of suspicion was definitely pointed at certain of the city officers who had been most active and pronounced in their advocacy of the scheme and who had worked or voted for all of the proceedings that looked to its consummation.

#### FIRST DEMAND FOR GRAND JURY.

Meantime, the city had been also discussing corruption in the political primaries, and as no tangible material could be obtained upon which to proceed criminally against either the promoter of the water deal or the suspected city officers in the matter, or the politicians whose names had been freely connected with the alleged corruption in the primaries, there sprang up a demand for the calling of a grand jury to investigate all of these subjects.

Now the county of Kent, of which

county Grand Rapids is the capital, had never had in its whole history a grand jury. All criminal proceedings had always been based upon complaint, examination and "information" filed by the prosecuting officers, and a grand jury, in its practical workings, was new to nearly everybody. All during the late fall and early winter this demand for a grand jury was insistent, but the court and the prosecutor felt obliged to delay its call because of the lack of tangible clews. The prosecuting officers, however, were faithful and diligent men and pursued every line of inquiry within their reach, until in February, 1901, the town was appraised through the papers, that the city attorney of Grand Rapids had been indicted in Chicago for the larceny of \$50,000. The story became known that that sum of money had been deposited in a safe deposit vault in Chicago by Omaha parties, the sum to be delivered to the Grand Rapids city attorney when this city should have entered into a contract with the Omaha contingent, or their representatives, to furnish Grand Rapids water from Lake Michigan. This contract the city attorney was, according to the scheme, to put through. The Omaha party was one of those who was looking for a contract with this city as a result of the three months' advertisement inviting bids, after the first bids had been returned.

#### COOK COUNTY GRAND JURY INTERVENES.

At the time of the arrest of this official in Chicago, the details of the story were not fully known, but it appeared that the city attorney was left in possession of one of the keys to the safe deposit box. He concluded, it is said, not to wait the conclusion of his contract, but take his pay in advance, with the result that the Cook County grand jury was asked to intervene in the case, as it did. The news of this event put force into the demand for a grand jury here. And now came the first tangible clew, for the news of the Chicago indictment being published in the New York papers, it came to the notice of the promoters of the original water

scheme, and the man principally involved let it be known that he could furnish evidence of a transaction in Grand Rapids similar to the one that had come to light by the Chicago arrest. Means were found to reach him and secure from him letters and telegrams which had passed between him and his confederates during the summer of 1900, which, with testimony he was willing to give, made a formidable case against several of those alleged to be involved.

#### GRAND JURY CALLED.

The grand jury had been called. It sat for several weeks. Evidence given before it, in some mysterious manner, became known to the friends of the implicated parties, and the newspaper organ of the mayor and city attorney was diligent every day in perverting the stories that were told before the grand jury, in ridiculing the court and prosecuting officers, in libeling citizens in no way connected with the scheme, and in every device known to "yellow journalism" it discredited the honest effort of the public officials to arrive at the truth.

#### FIVE INDICTMENTS RETURNED.

But the grand jury was not to be side-tracked or defeated. Indictments for bribery were returned against the city attorney, against the New York man who furnished the money for the bribers, against a bank clerk who was the custodian of it, against a lawyer who was alleged to have engineered the scheme in local circles, and against still another lawyer who was alleged to have been employed to tempt one particular alderman with a bribe. Yet so skillfully had the engineers manipulated their negotiations with the New York contingent that the promoter who had turned state's evidence, was unable to give any direct testimony affecting any of the aldermen or any of the officers of the city other than those above named. It was necessary for two years to elapse and the city attorney to become an informer himself before that result was reached.

#### CITY ATTORNEY TRIED.

The city attorney was tried in the

fall of 1901 and the following is the story brought out on the trial of the city attorney, a story given by the promoters and corroborated by such testimony from local sources as the prosecutor was able to reach.

After the city officials had let it be known that the subject of water for the town was open, the promoter sent an agent to Grand Rapids to look over the ground. This agent was also a lawyer by profession and a man who proved to be willing to adopt any means to attain his end. He brought letters of introduction to a local attorney and they got into communication with this city attorney. Between the three, they decided that money would be necessary to put the scheme through, and a demand was made upon the New York men for \$100,000—\$25,000 to be paid down forthwith and to be used as the city attorney in his discretion might decide, and \$75,000 was to be placed in safe deposit in Grand Rapids, subject to the order of the same city attorney, to be delivered to him when the contract between the city and the New York contingent should be executed.

Early in July the moneyed man of the New York end came to town and deposited \$25,000 to the credit of the local attorney employed, and this money, it was proved on the trial by the officers of the bank holding the deposit, was delivered to the local attorney. A part of it, as was testified, was delivered by the latter to the city attorney. But on this first trial, that money could be no farther traced, nor could the \$75,000 which it was alleged was subsequently sent here for deposit be directly traced.

#### CONVICTION OF CITY ATTORNEY.

The trial resulted in a conviction of the city attorney for bribery, notwithstanding the fears of the public that political influence or worse means, had been and were still being used to unduly influence the jury. This conviction was promptly appealed, and in the trial and in the appeal a great array of legal talent was marshalled, representing not only the city attorney but other parties implicated. This first trial con-

sumed two months, beginning in October and ending in the middle of December, 1901. At the next March term of court the New York man who was alleged to have furnished the money was tried, with practically the same attorneys representing the defense as had been employed in the city attorney's case. He swore stoutly that all his money had been returned, and that it had not, in the first place, been put here for any corrupt purpose, but to secure an option upon, or purchase of, the private water company before alluded to. His conviction also resulted, but so far no disclosures beyond those previously referred to had been made.

#### FURTHER TRIALS.

Then came the trial of the local attorney, the alleged "engineer." A change of venue was obtained to a neighboring county and another long trial ensued. The promoters again came from New York and testified, and another conviction resulted. Not long thereafter, the lawyer of minor importance who had been employed to approach the single alderman was tried, and while admitting the facts substantially as alleged by the alderman himself, he excused himself by swearing that being a friend of the alderman he had merely appeared to approach him for the sake of testing his honesty. This excuse, with sympathy raised for him, secured his acquittal.

To return a moment to the bank clerk. When it became known through the New York promoters that this clerk had been custodian of the large fund, he was faced with an allegation to that effect before the meeting of the grand jury, and admitted the fact, but disclaimed any guilty knowledge of the character of the transaction. He admitted it to the officers of the bank and to the bank's attorney, and agreed to go before the grand jury and tell the facts as they were, but before the grand jury assembled such influences secured control of him, that when he was called as a witness before the grand jury it is evident he did not tell the facts, but quite a different story.

Before he was tried, however, on the

original indictment against him, it became known that he, with the same city attorney, had become involved in the loss of large sums of money. As paying teller of the bank he had permitted his friend to largely overdraw his account, concealing the overdraft in the form of "cash items," and also he had, at the instance of the city attorney, certified for him a certain check or checks, one check at least of \$10,000. When the federal grand jury next met, complaint was made against him, and the city attorney as an abettor, for an offense against the national banking act, the offense consisting in certifying a check when no funds were in the bank against it. The federal grand jury indicted both and they were released on bail. But between that indictment and the next term of court at which their cases could be tried, the bank clerk had been prevailed upon by friends to tell the truth.

#### THE FIRST PUNISHMENTS.

Having decided to do that, he waived any defense in the federal court and pleaded guilty, in the hope that he would be let off with a fine, and the city attorney, probably believing that the clerk would be released on a fine, pursued the same course. But they met a surprise in the action of the court, the judge thereof sending both to the Detroit House of Correction for a term of two years. From this imprisonment they were released the first of last November, and during all the time between the ending of the "water trials," so-called, and the release of these men from the federal prison, the appeals from the conviction of the city attorney and the local lawyer were pending in the Supreme Court. The New York "financier" had been fined and paid his fine, it being the judgment of the court that he had been duped all the way through the scheme and relieved of over \$100,000 in money, and that he probably had suffered enough.

The Supreme Court handed down its decision in the case of the city attorney about the 1st of November, four or five days before his sentence in Detroit expired, and he returned immediately

to Grand Rapids, with his original conviction for bribery affirmed. Without going into the details of the efforts that had been and were then made to induce him to make a clean breast of the whole transaction, he finally decided to do so. Of course, in doing so he hoped to lessen the penalty that he might receive on his affirmed conviction in the state court, a penalty which may reach a ten-year term in prison. As a result of his disclosures, which were circumstantial and minute in every respect, things have been happening rapidly. In substance this is the story he *now* tells:

#### WHERE THE MONEY WENT.

That with the \$25,000 first received he paid to the local attorney \$8,000; to the manager of one of the daily papers \$5,000; to the ex-mayor and the manager of his personal organ \$10,000, and with the balance of that sum he reduced his overdraft and shortage at the bank. That out of the \$75,000 subsequently received and which he withdrew from deposit before due, as he did in the Chicago case, he completed the paying up of his bank shortage and the relieving of the paying teller in that respect; that he paid the ex-mayor \$13,500; that he paid to the manager of his personal organ about the same amount; that he paid to the city clerk \$1,500; to a member of the board of public works \$500; to the manager of the only other remaining daily \$10,000; to some 14 or 15 of the aldermen sums ranging from \$200 to \$500, and that out of the entire sum he practically had nothing left for himself. He had spent all, he claims, to secure co-operation and votes for the water deal.

#### WHOLESALE ARRAIGNMENTS.

Immediately after this disclosure was made and before any arrests followed, several confessions were received by the prosecutor, and corroboration of parts of the story from various sources came thick and fast. No grand jury was needed this time, and as soon as matters could be put in legal shape, warrants were issued for the ex-mayor, for some fourteen members of the Council, a member of the board

of public works and a state senator, and subsequently further arrest for perjury was made of the lawyer who had been acquitted of the charge of bribery; of two other lawyers connected with the defense of the city attorney, one for perjury and one for subornation of perjury; of the city clerk for conspiracy; of the managers of all three of the Grand Rapids dailies for conspiracy. Ten men have confessed and pleaded guilty. So far two aldermen have been tried and convicted of bribery, and the lawyer who was acquitted of the charge of bribery has been tried and convicted of the charge of perjury, all of these convictions having been obtained by city juries. Trials of the several aldermen who pleaded not guilty are now in order and the prosecution intends to try, as rapidly as possible, the ex-mayor, the lawyers charged with perjury and subornation of perjury, and the newspaper men for their alleged part in the conspiracy.

In the meantime sentence of the city attorney on the charge for which he was originally tried and convicted is withheld, and the trial of the bank clerk, who at the eleventh hour confessed his part in the transaction, is not at present pressed.

#### A HUMILIATING RECORD.

To the town of Grand Rapids this is a most humiliating record. There is no space in an article of this kind to elaborate in detail the collateral facts and crimes attending upon and incident to this scheme. The confession of the city attorney tells of the means by which information was obtained of the grand jury's deliberation. It was the old story of bribery. One of the jurymen was bought, he says.

It has become clear to most that much of the testimony in the original defense was manufactured. Reams of alleged correspondence are alleged to have been invented, and pretended contracts were written and signatures thereto secured long after the events to which they referred. Attempts to bribe the state's informer have been investigated and to most minds proved, although one of the attorneys has been

tried on a charge of subornation of perjury (in that it was alleged he attempted to induce, by the use of money, the state's principal witness to pervert his testimony), and acquitted. This lawyer has now been arrested and will be tried for perjury in his testimony given in that matter.

It is now alleged in the last statement of the city attorney that a well defined plan existed between himself and associates to induce contractors all over the country, as far as possible, to send them money for the purpose of securing such a water contract, which moneys they intended to appropriate to their own uses and leave the people who were furnishing it for such corrupt purposes in the lurch, trusting that they would not dare complain of their treatment because of the criminal character of their own proceedings. Except for the exposure of their methods by the arrest of the city attorney in Chicago, their plans would probably have succeeded.

In this article the guilt of anyone who has not been tried and convicted or who has not confessed and pleaded guilty is of course not asserted.

This story is already too long, but is in reality short as compared with what might be recited in detail.

I do not suppose that any two men would agree entirely upon the primary causes which have led to the possibility of such a condition. Doubtless they are complex and most of them are not peculiar to Grand Rapids.

#### INDIFFERENCE TO CIVIC DUTY A CAUSE.

The first is undoubtedly that indifference to civic duty which permits party politics to control in aldermanic elections and submerge quality of candidates to party fealty. It is the old cry—"maintain the organization;" a party nominee, one whose nomination had been obtained by no matter what methods, must be supported, and uniformly he has been. The exceptions have been very few. No reader of *The Commons* but knows what means have been employed in securing nominations on these lines—money, promise of office, promise of support for pet le-

gal measures, even "repeaters" have all had their place, and the public conscience never effectually aroused itself to fight. Not all men so nominated and elected have been necessarily bad, but it takes a strong man in such political surroundings not to become more or less morally obliqued. Some of the aldermen and officers who have now confessed to having been bribed were never known to go wrong before; but listen to this—the first one tried swore in his own defense that he did not consider the money which he admitted to have gotten, as a bribe, but as a sort of a joke—"one on the New York financier," whose money had been put up under the delusion that such a contract as proposed could be obtained at all. "If a fool would part with his money, then better the aldermen get it."

#### INDIFFERENCE TO WORTH OF PERSONAL INTEGRITY.

And secondly, there has been a marked indifference to the worth of example in the matter of personal integrity in public affairs.

No one, I trust, believes in an effort to forever keep a man "down" who has sinned, repented of his error and who strives to rehabilitate himself. But it is not calculated to strike deep dread into the heart of a trusted employe—a bank clerk, for instance, (who may be disposed to divert to his own use the bank's cash)—to know that he stands a chance after a publicly admitted embezzlement to soon thereafter be made cashier of the bank he has looted.

This is quite like what has been done in the politics of Grand Rapids. The town in 1898 elected, as mayor, a man who only a few years before, as treasurer of the city, was short in his accounts about \$17,000 for moneys used, as he claimed, in the aid of his personal political friends in political campaigns, and not for his own benefit. His default was admitted, made good by his bondsmen, and to-day a judgment exists against him for the unpaid balance of his shortage and interest thereon,

amounting to nearly \$20,000. But there was no criminal prosecution. He was allowed to go unpunished. After a few years he began to emerge as a political factor, and gradually, by the aid of warm personal friends (of whom he had many) built up a machine that nominated him for mayor, and he was elected as a Democrat on a practically "wide-open platform."

Being elected a second time he had the opportunity to complete the organization of the board of police and fire commissioners to his personal taste. Prior to his election this board had been almost entirely composed of wise business men; men who were not puritanical in any sense, men who were disposed to be liberal, but who had with unusual constancy enforced reasonable compliance with the law by saloons and other kindred places of amusement.

Persistent declamation and agitation had been kept up against so-called "blue-laws" and "encroachment upon personal liberty," until a campaign on this issue, in the absence of equally forcible agitation in opposition, was successful. And as the Common Council reelected the city attorney referred to by a safe majority, in spite of public protest, after full knowledge of his indictment in Chicago, it is probably a fair deduction that either some of the aldermen were involved with him and felt forced to support him, or they had very lax views of what public example is worth.

Known integrity as a qualification for public office had gone to a discount.

Then, too, the civic conscience has been weakened and debauched by corruption in politics, and by this I mean the open, notorious and flagrant use of money to control primaries and conventions in the city of Grand Rapids, and in Kent County bootlegging has not, until the developments in this "water scandal," been really unpopular.

The tendency is now up-hill. We already have a better primary law, we have a better sentiment for civic righteousness and our law officers are faithful and efficient, and it is a good deal for a municipality to cleanse itself.

# An Experiment in City Home Gardening

By Lucy Burton Buell

Contributed Through the College Settlements Association  
Department. Myrta L. Jones, Editor

Many years ago Cleveland could justly claim her title of "The Forest City." Her shaded streets, lawns and gardens everywhere to be seen gave her the aspect of a well kept village. But Cleveland is in the soft coal region and she is a manufacturing city. As her industries increased, the atmosphere became so smoke-laden that trees, grass and flowers no longer flourished. The care which had sufficed to keep them healthy under more favorable

When Goodrich House was opened six years ago, some of the workers there felt that it was worth while to try to induce people in the neighborhood to improve their lawns by clearing up their yards and planting a few vines and hardy flowers. The homes in the neighborhood are largely of the old order, not tenements, but detached houses, standing usually two or three in one yard. The ground was hard from the tramping of many feet and covered



conditions was not all that was necessary now and people had not learned to meet existing conditions by planting hardier varieties and giving them more careful treatment. When trees died, new ones were planted—usually maples, because maples were the old-time favorite—but they, finding life too hard for them, soon gave up the struggle and people gradually came to take it for granted that nothing would grow in the downtown district of Cleveland.

with ashes, while tin cans and other refuse was piled in the corners—everyone who has lived in a settlement neighborhood will recognize the picture. Naturally this movement took the form of a club, and the Home Gardening Club came into existence. Dues were fixed at ten cents a year and the payment of this sum entitled the member to ten packages of flower seeds. The club flourished, notwithstanding all the discouraging conditions it had to face; it

grew in numbers from twelve to eighty the first year, and many pathetic little gardens were planted. People began to talk about their flowers, to study them, and after two or three years they were rewarded by better results than at first seemed possible.

As is the case with most clubs, the leaders had to work hard, to prove fertile in resources for keeping up the interest. Throughout the summer, flowers sent in by friends who were glad to share their own abundance made the weekly meetings pleasant. To see that these flowers were distributed among the sick and where their presence would be specially welcome was the work of the club members, and in this matter there has been a real growth of the altruistic spirit. The pleasure of giving has been learned, and where formerly the demand was "some flowers for me," now it is, "the lady next door is sick—may I take some flowers to her?" In August there is the exhibit of flowers grown in home gardens; in November comes the chrysanthemum social. During the winter, when meetings are held only once a month, there are talks on gardening, flowers and kindred subjects, with frequent use of the stereopticon. In February an exhibit of flowering bulbs is held. The club prides itself on its success with bulbs. Prizes are given in the fall for the best gardens and the best specimens of various flowers grown. The prizes are always bulbs. They are rather generously bestowed, so that every member who has really worked, has at least half a dozen bulbs for home culture, and the February exhibit brings out a fine showing from these. Incidentally, the club has been of value in growing friends as well as flowers. There is no group of people connected with Goodrich House among whom the bond of friendship is stronger than among the Home Gardeners. Out of their common love for flowers has grown a real affection for one another.

After two years' work in the club, the success attained seemed to justify the hope that this movement might become more far-reaching. Since children are always most keen to take up

a new project (although it may not be amiss here to say that in the Home Gardening Club one of the most enthusiastic members is seventy-five years old), it was felt that the most promising field for the work lay in the public schools. A conference was held with some of the school officials and the result was the formation of the Home Gardening Association. This organization, composed of about a dozen people, the majority of whom are actively connected with the public schools, drew up a plan for bringing this work before the children. It was decided to allow them to purchase seeds through the association at a cent a package. The co-operation of the teachers was necessary, of course, to make this movement a success, and so well did they respond that the children became enthusiastic.

The first year forty-eight thousand packages of seeds were sold—the next year one hundred and twenty-two thousand, and many children saved their own seeds from the first year's planting. The seeds were put up at Goodrich House by women who were glad to earn the money paid for this work, and the money received from the children met all expenses—cost of seeds, printing, order slips and envelopes, putting up and delivering. The first year the association purchased several thousand bulbs, had them potted, and in February sent them to the school rooms all over the city. The next year unpotted bulbs were sent with directions for planting, and last year notices were sent to the schools that bulbs could be purchased through the association at cost price. There was quite a general response to this offer, which the association feels is an encouraging sign of an awakened interest in this branch of flower growing. Directly opposite Goodrich House is a school building which looked three years ago as do most schools situated in a downtown district. The Home Gardening Association secured the use of a vacant piece of land adjoining the school yard and turned this over to the school children that their playground might not be curtailed by the plan for improving the yard in front of the

school building. This ground was spaded up, the top dirt removed, new earth brought in, and grass and shrubs planted. Contrary to all predictions, these flourished and the school yard is no longer bare and unsightly.

That all this work had an effect upon the children is proven by last summer's experience with Goodrich House window-boxes. Three or four years ago it was impossible to have any flowers in the small grass plot in front of the house; they were sure to be rudely pulled up. Last summer not only were these flower beds unmolested, but boxes placed on the lower windows were quite untouched, despite the fact that their overhanging vines must have

the projectors of this test garden. It was filled with bloom all through the summer, and while picking the flowers left one's hands in much the same condition that would handling coal, the colors did not seem much dulled by their coating of soot and the blossoms were almost as lovely as other more fortunately placed ones. After two years, this test garden was put to a new use.

The question of shade trees in Cleveland had become a serious one. Discovering that maples and elms—the trees of an earlier time—did not flourish, people had taken up the Carolina poplar. This, it was found, would live and flourish, and they were planted everywhere. But with them



been a temptation to mischievous fingers.

It had been so often said that nothing would grow in this downtown district, that the Home Gardening Association determined to make a forcible demonstration of what could be done under the very worst conditions. They secured the use of a vacant lot opposite the postoffice, surrounded by tall office buildings and factories. This land they put into good condition, by bringing in new earth and fertilizing heavily; then the ground was laid out into beds and planted with those seeds and bulbs which experience had already demonstrated were most likely to thrive. The result surprised even

came a new danger to the trees. The deadly scale fastens first upon these poplars and from them spreads to other varieties. The Home Gardening Association wished to show people that other trees than poplars would flourish under adverse conditions. They had planted in this bit of ground a number of trees, each one labeled with its name and a statement of the condition under which it would thrive. They also spread abroad, so far as possible, the facts in regard to the Carolina poplar, and it was gratifying to learn from dealers in trees last fall, that the sycamore and locust, recommended for the smoky districts, had almost displaced the poplar in last year's planting.

To demonstrate how much could be done toward improving a section of the city by co-operation among householders, one block in the neighborhood of Goodrich House was chosen for experiment. This block had the advantage of containing only one tenement house; the other dwellings had more yard room than is usually found on a downtown street. Prizes were offered for the best kept yards and for the best window boxes, and to encourage people to have the latter, boxes were offered at cost and plants enough to fill them given to every one who would promise to care for them. Only one family in the block showed no interest in this work of improvement—many were enthusiastic—and it was a hard matter to award the prizes with so many really beautiful gardens to choose from. The next year, without the incentive of plants given away and special prizes offered, the block was almost as well cared for. Those who have once found the joy of gardening are seldom willing to let it go.

People outside of the Home Gardening Association have become interested in helping in the work. One newspaper has for two years offered generous prizes for the best kept yards and private individuals have contributed in many ways.

That the movement has grown far beyond what the projectors anticipated is largely due to the fact that it is in line with the great movement whose watch-cry is "Back to the Soil," for many are beginning to learn, what wise men have always known, that "to watch the corn grow, and the blossoms set; to draw hard breath over plough-share or spade; to read, to think, to love, to hope, to pray—these are the things that make men happy."

LUCY BURTON BUELL.

*Miss Buell was one of the earlier residents of the New York College Settlement, since which time she has been for six years connected with Goodrich House, Cleveland, first as assistant and later as associate head-worker.*

No better investment exists for a manufacturing institutions or a corporation than the hearty co-operation and good feeling of the employes.—Marcus A. Hanna.

## The Flux of British Parties

BY F. HERBERT STEAD.

The opening of Parliament brings us afresh face to face with the peculiar transition through which British politics are now passing. The old division of parties is obviously broken up. The disintegration of traditional combinations had been long foreseen. It began most conspicuously with Mr. Gladstone's adoption of Home Rule. The terms "Liberal" and "Conservative" ceased then to represent the actual cleavage of principle and policy. The supporters of Home Rule in the main preserved the title of Liberals, but the Liberals and Conservatives opposed to Home Rule adopted the common designation of Unionists. The Home Rule controversy offered, moreover, a convenient occasion for the detachment of the less progressive section of the old party of progress.

The sudden eruption of the fiscal question and the volcanic activity of Mr. Chamberlain in pressing for what is nothing less than a revolution in our national commercial policy have introduced another and seismic line of cleavage. So we find, at the present moment, a melodramatic shifting of parts and crossing of purposes and grouping of previous enemies. The Unionist government has had, through some critical times, the support of the Irish Home Rule party. The Liberal Unionists are at sixes and sevens, their most weighty leader, the Duke of Devonshire, renouncing his presidency because though he loves Unionism much, he loves Free Trade more.

The younger and most active spirits in the nominal Conservative party, such as Lord Hugh Cecil, Winston Churchill, Lord Stanley and Major Seely, are resolute antagonists of the Unionist government. The official Liberal party has had a sort of unity imposed from without upon its motley array of quarrelling leaders and inconsistent policies by the necessity of defending Free Trade. The issues to be raised in the first few days of the new Parliament will make more apparent

the "incoherent heterogeneity" of our political life. The division on the fiscal amendment to the address will be an interesting indication of the extent to which disintegration has proceeded.

The question of importing Chinamen into the Transvaal mining region will be yet another test of the divisions among those who boast of being imperialists. The government, which claims to work for a united empire and has declared that in the settlement of South Africa the colonies must be consulted, is pledged to allow the introduction into the Transvaal of thousands of Chinese under conditions that are tantamount to slavery, in open disregard of the strongly expressed will of the self-governing portions of the British empire south of the equator. The Cape Colony, New Zealand and the Australian commonwealths have warmly represented this injection of the Yellow Peril into the heart of the country which all parts of the empire bled to secure for the British crown. The only reason for this extraordinary lapse on the part of an imperial government is the alleged but strongly controverted necessity of securing cheap labor for the gold mines. It is a capitulation of imperialism to mammonism. The strongest opposition to this measure is headed by Major Seely, an Imperial Yeoman, who was decorated for his services in the South African war and is a strong Tory.

This political chaos is due to much deeper causes than the Irish demand for Home Rule or Mr. Chamberlain's demand for protection. It is a result of the shifting of the center of gravity in English politics. The Reform Act of 1832 transferred the decisive control of the national destinies from the old corrupt aristocratic oligarchy to the middle classes. The Conservative enfranchisement of the working classes in the boroughs in the '60's and the Liberal enfranchisement of the working classes in the counties in the '80's, involved the transfer of the voting power from the middle classes to the working classes. The outward and visible signs of the inward and dynamic fact have been slower in making their ap-

pearance now than in the changes effected in the 30's. The working classes have taken a much longer time to realize their power than did the keen business instincts of the middle classes. The workingman has been rather a dumb uncertainty, dissatisfied with all parties, liable to be exploited by the different parties in turn. He has been like a great gun loosed from its moorings on deck of a man-of-war. He has been oscillating to and fro, and contributing much to the instability of the equilibrium of the ship of state. The old parties, the old cries, do not much interest him; they do not fit the situation. Until he knows his own mind and feels his own power, the chaotic condition of parties will remain.

The present offers a great opportunity for strong wills and self-assertive personalities. Hence may be explained the extraordinary way in which, negatively or positively, Mr. Chamberlain has impressed himself on the life of the state. Unsettled times give the adventurer his chance. But one thing has been achieved. Politics have passed out of the formal into the material stage. Abstract conceptions which fascinated our forefathers are giving place to the concrete needs of the people. The tariff agitation owes its strength to the fact that it is supposed to deal with the prayer of the vast masses of the people. "Give us this day our daily bread."

The investigations of Mr. Booth and Mr. Rowntree and their findings that nearly one-third of the population are underfed, badly clothed, ill-housed, deepen the conviction that the first duty of the nation is to see that its people are properly fed, clothed, housed and trained. Lord Rosebery's easy optimism, which finds "Wherever we turn, signs of an abounding and increasing prosperity," was, by a strange irony of circumstance, expressed in the very poorest and most crowded borough of London, where it is computed that 40 per cent of the children attending school simply cannot profit by the education they receive, for want of food. The elementary humanities which Jesus made the decisive test at the Day of

Judgment are bulking more and more ominously in the popular mind. They are the essential demands of the working classes. They also appeal powerfully to the noblest souls among all parties.

Organized labor is preparing to assert itself in the next Parliament as a compact and effective fighting force. Perhaps its most effective allies will be among some of the younger Tories whose hearts are with the people. Stranger things have happened than the readjustment thus indicated. It may be found that the leaders of the new democracy will be men like Winston Churchill and Lord Hugh Cecil. Lord Hugh Cecil is an aristocrat of aristocrats; he is an intensely ardent Anglo-Catholic; he has fought the battle of the Bishops against the Nonconformists in the education controversy with all his might. Yet there are many who augur for him the career of another Gladstone. His absolute devotion to religious duty and the passionate fervor of his oratory have reminded competent judges like Sir William Harcourt and John Morley of the earlier Mr. Gladstone. No one can be long in Lord Hugh Cecil's company without feeling that he is *au fond* a Christian. You feel that he would shrink from no sacrifice in carrying out what he clearly saw to be the will of the Christ. He has already shown himself superior to the claims of party and of family in pursuing what he feels to be right. This devotion to the Highest Authority is implanted in a nature that seems to contain the concentrated will-force of three centuries of Cecils.

It would be a picturesque illustration of the way in which progress advances in this conservative island, and it would be an interesting variant of the Gladstone precedent, were the united Labor party, allied with social reformers in all the traditional factions, to find its leader in this youth of sacerdotal creed, of ancient pedigree, but under all and through all, of high Christian purpose. It would be at once more logical, more desirable and more just that the responsible political leader of Labor should be one who has himself handled the tools of the weekly wage-earner.

### Herbert Spencer's Faith in His Method

Someone has said of Herbert Spencer's writings, what is as true of perhaps no other author except Francis Bacon, that after reading them one can never occupy quite the same point of view as before. Like Bacon, Spencer realized the changes to be wrought by his views. Bacon boldly forecast the difference in men's approach to their tasks, which the viewpoint of his "Novum Organum" and "Advancement of Learning" would require them to take. Spencer, with businesslike precision, elaborately provided in his last will and testament for the completion of the work he began in his "Descriptive Sociology," naming the various peoples and nations of which accounts are to be given "in the manner prescribed," and describing a reorganization of the whole series of works already executed. He directs his trustees to resume and continue his task, but "not exceeding the lifetime of all the descendants of Queen Victoria who shall be living at my decease, and of the survivors and survivor of them, and for twenty-one years after the death of such survivor." When the series of reorganized work shall have been completely executed and published, the copyrights, plates and stock are to be sold at auction and the proceeds equally divided among twelve British scientific societies. As Mr. Spencer's methods of collating, analyzing and classifying social data are exemplified in his "Descriptive Sociology," his provision for completing and perpetuating that work lays his last and greatest emphasis upon the value of its method. In this judgment many, if not most, students of social phenomena will concur. For however the results obtained and the execution of the plan may be criticised, the originality and value of the method of social observation he employed can scarcely be questioned. Its point of view and suggestiveness underlie most of the scientific treatment of social data which has arisen since he began to write.

# Day Nursery at the St. Louis Exposition

By Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge

The increase of day nurseries, and the interest in day nursery methods throughout the country during the past five years, is one of the things which we find it difficult to explain unless we take into consideration social and economic conditions which have made social settlements and philanthropic organizations necessary for the betterment of the working class. The greatest factor which is leading to the extension of the day nursery idea is the increasing number of deserted women, and of those who are obliged to support themselves and their children. This is a condition which we may deprecate, but which exists and must be met in some practical way, and the day nursery seems the best possible solution of the problem.

In its primal idea the day nursery cared for the children of worthy mothers who were obliged to work for their support, and to do their work away from their home. The first day nursery started in this country, forty years ago, aimed to care for children during the working hours of the day, in regard to their physical safety and welfare only. The immense system which is gradually being built up around this simple idea is somewhat startling to those who have not watched the evolution. The first day nurseries were very simple affairs; good food, regular hours, bodily cleanliness, for the children, being the only things attempted. It is difficult to trace just where broader work began, but that probably came with the general awakening of the public to its responsibility toward the worthy poor, and the conviction that the best way to make a permanent impression for good on a community was through the children. In the various nurseries throughout the country there began to creep in all kinds of supplementary work, some of it directly aiding the mothers, but most of it directed toward the education of the children in manners and morals. The first addition made was the kindergarten, which is now almost universal. Next came mothers' meetings, sewing classes, cooking classes, in some few cases manual

training, boys' clubs, libraries and reading rooms, and various kinds of meetings which may be called neighborhood work, on lines similar to that done by the settlements.

All of this broad work necessitated houses sufficiently large and well equipped for it, and at present the number of model buildings is necessarily limited, and only exist in the largest cities, but the ideals of all day nurseries in the country are gradually reaching toward the broader work, and workers who are most deeply interested in the subject find that some kind of neighborhood work is attempted by even the newest and most inexperienced ones. Many of the best managed nurseries are now real neighborhood centers, seeking to influence the mothers, and the boys and girls up to the age of twelve, those graduating from the nurseries at seven coming back from the public schools, after hours, and receiving instruction, in most cases from paid workers—voluntary service being the exception. The settlements in Chicago are the only ones, up to this time, that have realized the importance of the nursery as a part of their regular work, and all of them now have nurseries as the first in the line of agencies toward the betterment of a neighborhood. In New York only one settlement has a nursery in its building, but the co-operation between the settlements and other organizations working among the poor with the day nurseries is increasing every year, as the nursery is becoming better known as one of the most important influences in the tenement house districts.

## PUBLIC AWAKENING.

The public is now beginning to realize the importance of a system which is the first agency in the care and education of children. When it is known that there are about 11,000 children taken care of daily, in the nurseries throughout the country, no one can deny that, besides the immediate help given the mothers, an impression for good is being made on future genera-

tions. In 1892, at the first conference for day nursery workers, there were less than one hundred nurseries reported in the country. The present number, so far as we can ascertain, is about three hundred. They have been springing up in the small communities all over the country for the past five years, until there is hardly a city of over 15,000 inhabitants that has not one or two. Of the large cities, New York leads with fifty-seven, Chicago has fourteen, Philadelphia twelve, Boston ten, Cleveland and St. Louis five each. For many years the day nursery was the only agency for philanthropic work which had not some kind of or-

the exposition, 10,000 children were admitted, some days the number reaching 150. The building was only equipped for the care of 60 children, but the demand for admittance was so great that it was impossible to refuse until the rooms were too crowded to admit any more. During the last two months there were days when several hundred were refused admittance for lack of room. With all the disadvantages of overcrowding, and the limited number of nurses, not a single accident occurred of any kind, and only one child was left unclaimed, and that on the last day of the exposition. The exhibit proved to be the means of interesting



DAY NURSERY BUILDING AT ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION.

ganization as a whole, with a central bureau for information. During the past eight years local associations have been formed in New York, Boston, Chicago and Philadelphia, and, more recently, the Federation of Day Nurseries, with an office at No. 21 West Forty-fourth street, New York City.

#### NURSERIES AT WORLD'S FAIR.

At the time of the exposition at Chicago, in 1893, the day nursery exhibit was carried on under the supervision of a Committee of Philanthropy from New York State, in a building provided by Chicago women. This exhibit showed, as far as was possible under the circumstances, the methods and standards of the best nurseries then in existence. During the six months of

the general public in a system then almost unknown, and gave, undoubtedly, the impetus to the movement which, within a few years, has been evidenced by a large increase of nurseries all over the country.

#### AT THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION.

The exhibit which it is proposed to make at the St. Louis exposition, during the coming summer, will be under the direction of the Board of Lady Managers, the Day Nursery Committee, with Miss Helen Gould as chairman, having charge of it. The president of the Federation of Day Nurseries has been invited to superintend the exhibit, and will have charge of the practical carrying out of the idea. The staff of helpers will be made up entirely of women who have worked in

day nurseries. The exhibit will show the higher standard which day nursery work has reached, as far as it is possible to show this under the exceptional conditions of an exposition, where the children taken care of must necessarily change each day. The exhibit must be limited to the physical side of the work, and the mechanical means taken to insure it. The other side—the different ways taken to assist the mother and to educate and develop the children morally and mentally—can only be indicated by reports, leaflets and statistics. All the working rooms in this day nursery building will be in full view of the public, which can see how the babies are fed, dressed, put to sleep and amused in the regular routine of a day in a day nursery, and, with the older children, can watch the kindergarten, games, amusements, and the daily routine.

In order that those interested in the details of the day nursery work, especially with a view of starting new nurseries, may obtain full information, special cards of admission will be issued between the hours of six and eight o'clock p. m., daily, when inspection of the building will be allowed, and experienced women will be in attendance to explain all details, and to give the fullest information possible. The capacity of the building is limited to one hundred and fifty, and it is hoped that the public will understand that, with that large number of children to care for, it will be impossible to admit visitors during working hours. The matron, Miss Majory Hall, is the same who had charge of the exhibit at the exposition at Chicago, during the last three months, and, as office secretary of the Federation of Day Nurseries, is able to give information on all the details of the present-day nursery system. The effort of those in charge of the exhibit is to emphasize the fact that there now exists an organization from which those wishing to start day nurseries can learn, by the experience of others, how best to do so.

On June 8th and 9th the Federation of Day Nurseries will hold its fourth conference at St. Louis, which all interested in the work are invited to attend.

### The Daily Walk

Under the widespread arch of God  
Happy my onward way I've trod,  
Under my feet the faithful earth,  
At end of day the sacred hearth.

In biting sleet and blaze of sun,  
I've felt the cosmic process run  
In pulse, in sap, in vibrant sound  
Within, beneath me, and around.

I, played upon by every force,  
Myself a cause, myself a source,  
Hopeful, yet awed, receive my rôle  
As living part of living whole.

—E. G. B.

### Pamphlets of Social Interest

The fourth annual report of the Home Gardening Association of Cleveland, O., beautifully printed and illustrated, is principally valuable outside of that city for its list of trees, shrubs and hardy plants "least affected by the smoke" or "better adapted to outlying districts." Both the association and its report fulfill their motto, "To encourage the growth of flowers in small gardens, to create a love for the beautiful and to make for the happiness of living."

"Country, Time and Tide," a magazine of a more profitable and interesting country life, always comes with fresh spirit and artistic form. Its practical advocacy of the country industries actually conducted by the new Clairvaux Arts' and Crafts' Society, which it represents, is as valuable to the hand-workers in town. Among the attractions of its little pages are a series of papers on such communities as Brook Farm, Robert Owen's New Lanark, the Shakers, the Northampton and Hopedale Communities. These are to be followed by descriptions of the individualism of Tolstoy, Morris, Thoreau and others. (Montague, Massachusetts, \$1.00 a year.)

In tasteful form and with a great variety of description and pictures, annual reports come from the Kingsley House Association of Pittsburg; Greenwich House, New York City; Hiram House, Cleveland; the Alumnae Settlement of New York, and the Elizabeth Peabody House, Boston.

The Friends' Quarterly Examiner for first month, 1904, contains an interesting social symposium to which Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree, Percy Alden, Joan M. Fry, E. Jurwick and Graham Taylor contribute.

The Handbook of the National Municipal League for 1904 valuably prepares the way for its annual convention in Chicago the last week in April.

The Massachusetts Labor Bulletin for January has an interesting article on "Palaces for the People." The Labor Gazette issued by the Department of Labor in the Dominion of Canada always has a wide range of valuable industrial information.

# At Issue in Trades Unions

By Ethelbert Stewart

## Jurisdictional Disputes

The most striking feature of the recent wage agreements in the building trades is the clauses which specify minutely just what work shall be done by the members of each organization. The agreement between the Employing Plumbers' Association of Chicago, and the Plumbers' and Steamfitters' Union goes into detail as to when the steamfitters' work begins and ends, and the plumbers' ditto. The plasterers' agreement in New York City, and of Albany, N. Y., are alike specific. This is also true of the agreement between the Contracting Plasterers' Association of Chicago and the Plasterers' Union.

The trouble that arises between unions over which shall do certain work is the most annoying thing to building contractors, the most exasperating to building owners, and most bewildering to the public of any of the complications arising out of the employment of union labor. These are called "jurisdictional disputes" in the United States and "demarcation disputes" in England. They have caused more strikes in England in some industries than have been caused by differences between employer and employee. To the uninitiated, let it be explained. For instance, the electrical wiring of a large building is often enclosed in a tube or pipe; this usually is or was a common gas pipe; for years the Electrical Workers' Union demanded that its members do this work, as the pipe was a mere covering for electrical wires that they had to string; the Gasfitters' Union claimed the work, as it was putting up gas pipe, and they asserted that it made no difference whether the pipe was to be used for gas, or electrical wires or any other purpose; then the Conduit Workers' Union claimed this work for its members, as the pipes were merely conduits for the wires. A strike on the building to determine which of these trade union members should do this work would be one in which the contractor

would not be morally involved, nor the owner even indirectly responsible for, and one the public simply cannot understand. In a conflict between union and non-union the issue is clear and the sentiments of the thinking majority usually right; but when a job is "strictly union" and then a strike is ordered to determine "which union," everybody gets mad. The building trades councils were valuable because of their power to quickly settle these jurisdictional disputes. The destruction of these bodies by the opposition of building contractors' councils has greatly increased these troubles. The New York contractors, while demanding the annihilation of the Building Trades Council, were wise enough to cover the jurisdictional question in their arbitration agreement. With the coming of the new agreements this year in Chicago, attention should be given to this, and these questions settled by agreement in advance.

The recent meeting of the national officers of the building trade unions to form some sort of a national alliance or federation was in the interest of greater unification of these trades and will, if permitted to go on, operate to reduce jurisdictional disputes. Contrary to the position taken by many papers and notwithstanding the apprehensive attitude of contractors' associations, the Indianapolis convention of national building trades officials, led by Mr. Gubbins, Mr. Frank Buchanan, and Mr. Herman Lillian was a peace conference and only meant for good. It must be clear to every one that with a multitude of new trade unions forming on lines of trade so fine that no one can distinguish them from some other trade, these jurisdictional fights must soon become as alarming in the United States as they are in England, and such central organizations to control the whole as is projected by the Indianapolis conference should be welcomed. Many will say that the way to settle these fine points is to "destroy unionism root and branch;" but, first, there is no justice in that solution; second,

and hence it does not stay solved that way. Opposition to unionism *per se* only postpones a final equitable settlement and is not, however honest in its intention, fruitful of good results.

### The Popular Labor Smoker

One of the many good movements now progressing is that of the popular "Labor Smoker." At these "smokers" labor leaders get together, not in haste to discuss a war measure or plan flank movements in battles already on, but to get acquainted and "to talk over the whole situation."

Heretofore labor councils have been for the purpose of making somebody else smoke; in these, the leaders get together and smoke, "chin each other" and get broader views from each other's experiences. Especially is this valuable at this time when so many new unions are being formed, so many new leaders in new industries, or industries not heretofore organized, are coming to the fore, without trade-union experience, without even personal acquaintance with the careful, thoughtful leaders of the time. The need of the day is "a-get-acquainted" enthusiasm, and it is needed everywhere. This much had been written before we read Mr. R. G. Wall's article in the Union Labor Advocate, urging the formation of ward trade union clubs for the purpose of getting acquainted. Mr. Wall outlines large purposes for his ward clubs, some of which may be disintegrating, rather than otherwise, but one purpose they can serve and that is the first he outlines as follows:

"The various organizations of the several crafts are essential, inasmuch as they bring together all persons working at that particular craft, and by establishing a community of interest protect the general interest of that craft, and while this is a great step in the uplifting of the wage earner, it falls far short of what can be attained through the ward club movement.

"The ward club movement establishes the opportunity of every trade unionist in any ward, irrespective of the craft he follows, to be personally acquainted. And how few of us in this city really know our next-door

neighbor. This movement further solidifies and concentrates the trade-unionist power where it is most effective."

The labor smoker is not bounded by ward lines, however, and is intended simply to bring together the leaders, old and new, to spend a few hours in social conversation. When labor leaders get acquainted with each other, then they would do well to get acquainted with capital leaders, meet them in a "smoker" and further enlarge the views perhaps of both. As in Rome, all the religious ideas and mythological vagaries of the world met and counteracted and neutralized each other, leaving the mind of the people ripe for the truer faith of the earnest and enthusiastic Christians; so in the industrial world the prejudices of every form of self-interest is centered in Chicago, and if these prejudices could be brought together calmly, they would largely abolish each other and clear the ground for an industrial peace, based upon the manhood of men.

### High Handed, Not High Minded

There is a considerable of justice in the statement made by leading trade-unionists that: "We have never put hired detectives and peace disturbers into the employers' associations to report their doings to us, and to make incendiary speeches for publication in our interest. And until employers' associations stop putting their spotters, spies and detectives, whose positions depend upon the alarming reports they can carry back, into our unions, the public should hold in abeyance its opinions as to the source and cause of slugging, rioting and kindred subjects." We have always felt that the putting of private detectives into trade-unions was a high-handed rather than a high-minded proceeding. It certainly does nothing to hasten the day of peace or the era of good feeling. It is not the highest highway to that friendly understanding which is to come, and in its coming, end strikes, lockouts and eventually end the hatred now too apparent on all sides.

# The Collectivist Society

By W. J. Ghent

The Collectivist Society of New York is the outgrowth of a group of three men who associated for propaganda work in the spring of 1902. The first pamphlet published was "An Exposition of Socialism and Collectivism," by a Churchman, of which 25,000 copies were issued. It was determined to attack the ministerial profession first, and accordingly 10,000 copies were sent to ministers in various parts of the country. Many responses were received, of which the vast majority were favorable. From these responses a commendatory circular regarding the pamphlet was prepared and widely distributed. This resulted in many hundreds of requests for the pamphlet.

In May of the same year Mr. Ghent's Independent article, "The Next Step: A Benevolent Feudalism," was republished as a pamphlet, and some 3,000 copies issued. These were distributed generally among social reformers.

Toward the end of the year the group decided to form a general organization. Invitations to join were sent to a number of persons who had shown interest in the work; and in the Bulletin—the third pamphlet—issued in January, 1903, this invitation was made general.

On March 6, 1903, the society was formally organized, and an executive committee was elected, consisting of Willis J. Abbot of Battle Creek, Mich.; Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, Chicago; Peter E. Burrowes, Brooklyn; Rev. Charles P. Connelly, Hiawatha, Kan.; W. J. Ghent, New York; Rev. Lawrence R. Howard, Plainfield, N. J.; Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, Mount Vernon, N. Y.; J. G. Phelps Stokes, New

York; George H. Strobell, Newark, N. J.; James M. Trible, Montclair, N. J.; Rufus W. Weeks, Tarrytown, N. Y.; Henry White, New York; Rev. Leighton Williams, New York.

## PURPOSE OF THE SOCIETY.

The purpose of the society is to disseminate a knowledge of Socialism and of cognate subjects among persons not usually reached by other Socialist propaganda. The society is non-partisan, no requirement being made of membership in either Socialist party. The "confession of faith," the acceptance of which is a requisite of membership, is sufficiently broad to include Socialists of many kinds. The committee on publication, however, is committed to the main orthodox tenet of scientific Socialism—the economic interpretation of history, with its corollary of the class struggle. The members of this committee are convinced that the bodily needs of the workers are the underlying force driving mankind toward the new status; but they hold also, as Marx and Engels held, that the force of ideals is a powerful factor in the social process; and it is therefore to the arousing of ideals among the middle class rather than the awakening of class consciousness among the workers that the publications of the society are directed. The address of the society is P. O. box 1663, New York City.

## ANNUAL MEETING AND DINNER.

The society held its second annual meeting and first dinner at Peck's restaurant, New York City, January 14, 1904. Thirty-six persons were present. Among the guests were Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Joseph R. Buchanan, author of "The Story of a Labor Agitator"; Mr. and Mrs. Eltweed Pomeroy, Darwin J. Miserole, Rev. William H. Barnes and J. A. Edgerton. Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes presided during the first part of the meeting. On his retirement the chair was taken by Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy.

Mr. Ghent, acting for the secretary,

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NOTE—The Collectivist Society is one of several independent organizations to take advantage of the conditions upon which *The Commons* offers them space, for the contents of which they are to be responsible.

read a number of letters of regret. Among those received were letters from the Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss, Rome, N. Y.; F. M. Crunden, librarian of the public library, St. Louis; Garrett Droppers, president of the University of South Dakota; Rev. George B. Gow, Glens Falls, N. Y.; George H. Shibley, Washington, D. C.; Charles F. Thayer, ex-mayor of Norwich, Conn.; Rev. Leighton Williams, H. Gaylord Wilshire and Rufus W. Weeks of New York.

The report of the committee on publication summarized the work of the society from its origin. In addition to the pamphlets mentioned, a fourth pamphlet, "The Socialism of Jesus," by Discipulus, was issued in March, 1903. Ten thousand copies of this were printed, and some 5,500 have so far been distributed. Of the commendatory circulars 55,000 copies in all have been printed, and about 41,000 distributed. Comments on the pamphlets were invited, and the request brought in 1,012 responses. Of responses of all kinds relating to the society's printed matter there have been 3,719, and of these 2,547 were from ministers, 58 from physicians, 46 from college professors and 1,068 from other persons. The results of circularizing physicians and Catholic priests were discouraging.

The financial report disclosed an expenditure of \$1,530 for the year. The membership now comprises 46 full members and 34 associates living in various parts of the country.

The election committee reported the election of Willis J. Abbot, Peter E. Burrowes, Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, Mrs. Darwin J. Meserole and Rev. Leighton Williams as executive committeemen of the class whose terms begin January, 1904.

"THE CALAMITY OF A DIVIDED  
INTEREST."

Mr. Peter E. Burrowes read an address on "The Calamity of a Divided Interest." Among other things he said:

"It is commonly alleged that Socialists are the originators of class distinction in

America, the ardent fulminators of this calamity. Alas, no, this thing was born into history not so lately as we. It was experienced when human creatures first awoke to the fact that alien private ownership had taken from them a natural human interest in their own work. This divided interest more than any other of man's tragedies has wounded the race, and by turning human life into an utterly false and unwarranted struggle for existence it has postponed all just and great ability for thought. The workaday class interest thus perverted determines all our moral and mental choices and gives complexion to all the thoughts of rich and poor, whether we know it or not. And the Socialist's attitude toward this pregnant fact is, that it is better to know and thus learn to regulate it, than to go on in blind ignorance of it and thus be forever its victims as crippled and immoral property tinkers or as degraded slaves of wages.

"The making and choosing of opinions is after all a secondary business; source thinking of any sort is extremely rare. A society which has the misfortune to be rent apart by opposing class interests must have philosophers and religions to match its differences. Let us cease then to haggle about such things until the controlling struggle is over, let us hasten first to regulate the philosophy maker itself, let us understand the watersheds of faith, and first settle this, the greatest of all things in the world to be settled, the inequalities of our economic life. All other things, when this is right, will rightly follow. You who have philosophical vision, let your philosophic statement wait and grow; you who have religious instincts, let your creed wait its formulation while these instincts are being socialized by your efforts for industrial equality, for not until we are socialized shall we have a religion of which a God need not be ashamed.

"To become conscious that we are creedally and spiritually subjectivized to that side of the economic interest which is ours is the most searching of spiritual revelations; before this all other practical truths take minor places. It compels the man who desires a fair mind to fight for a fair mind; the mere meditator, the man who would evolve truth out of his inner consciousness, it casts aside and calls in the men of affairs; it raises political life to the dignity belonging to it, an ethic and a religion. I therefore say to you who profess to be in search of truth that the thing you are in search of is a right mind; and Socialism, with its program of industrial equality, gives you the slogan for righteousness of mind. Equality alone can open the spiritual sources of humanity; equality alone is the answer to man's long pursuit of happiness. In the preliminary fight of the proletariat for a true democracy the lordly world is offered its greatest if not its first chance of a knighthood to be won which requires no defrauded, fallen or undone men to build up its glory."

## "SOCIAL RIGHTS."

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman was next introduced. She said in part:

"All human rights are social rights. Man has a lot of things belonging to him in the sense that he cannot be himself without them, although they do not grow on him. A good many things grow on him, concerning which there is no question of property rights. As to the lower animals, they carry everything they own, and no one can take anything away; but man has a lot of things that do not grow on him, but which he must have in order to be a useful and successful human creature. The work he has to do with his hands is for society. It is a social function. He cannot perform his social function without certain implements or tools. They cannot be attached to him physically, they have to be separate and distinct. They have to be attached to him by a social relation. Society must insure to the individual those things which are necessary for him in order that he may perform his full due to society. For instance, a carpenter is a man with a certain amount of special skill in his head, and a certain number of special tools in his hands. If he has not the skill or the tools he is not a carpenter. Every man has a right to those things which are necessary to him in order that he may do his best work—a very large and generous supply of such things. Whatever the things may be, he has a right to them for the simple reason that his best work is what he is created for and what enables him to secure his place in the world. His only use to society is in his *best* work.

"This subject of property rights, to my mind, rests on the things used or consumed: The right of ownership is in the things you consume. You have a right to own your food, clothes or tools, but that is the very end of it—you have a right to what you consume, but not to what you produce. That which is produced belongs to the other people."

The chairman (Rev. Mr. Lovejoy) then spoke briefly of the good work of the society and urged upon those present to join in efforts to extend its membership and usefulness.

Mr. Joseph R. Buchanan was next introduced. He declared that although he had been for many years a Socialist, he differed from the partisans in the movement in regard to tactics. Among other things he said:

"I started in this movement as a simple trade-unionist. I was active in the cause during the crucial period of the labor movement in the decade between '78 and '88—ten years. I believe in the organization of workingmen for the purpose of compelling a

recognition of their rights. Naturally—I say "naturally," and I know Socialists will agree with me—as I progressed in that work I imbibed the principles of Socialism, for I studied the relations existing between employers and employees, and I could see no solution, and I can see no solution now, of what we know as the labor question, except through Socialism. I differ, probably, from some of you, and probably from our friend who read such an interesting paper this evening, as to the methods to be employed, and I have differed all through my career. That has laid me open frequently to the charge of, let me say—to use a mild word—inconsistency. I believed, and I believe now, that the reform movement, the labor movement and the Socialist movement should seize the opportunities at hand. I am, therefore, what is known as 'a-step-at-a-time' Socialist, and I am an opportunist. . . . I am getting along in years; I have suffered a little in this cause, but I would like to see something accomplished before I go, and I believe no greater good can be done to the Socialist cause than to accomplish something practical along the lines of Socialism. If I could get one instance of government ownership of telegraphs or railways, I would take it rather than to stand back and say, 'I want the whole hog or nothing.'"

Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, the last speaker, said in part:

"Democracy's first meaning is political brotherhood and equality; even this we have not yet made a reality, but we are going to carry it by means of establishing direct legislation. Through that, Democracy is going to be carried on into our economic and financial life. . . . Economic Democracy would mean the fair opportunity for each man to develop his gift of usefulness, whatever it is; for, in all the diversity of gifts among men, there is a kind of equality. Almost every man surpasses in some one point. For the ground of financial equality we must hold, with Bellamy, that if one gives an equality of effort, no matter what his gift may happen to be, he is entitled to an equality of reward. In its final sense, then, Socialism means the carrying forward of brotherhood, of equality, of democracy, into and throughout politics, into and throughout society and into and throughout industrial life."

The interest expressed by all who attended this meeting and dinner was so great that it is likely the society will hold another such gathering some time in April.

Every year of experience, every dollar of accumulated capital, every talent we possess should be regarded as a sacred charge for the good of the nation, to help in uniting the interests of rich and poor, learned and unlearned.—Marcus A. Hanna.

# Association of Neighborhood Workers, New York City

Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, Editor

26 Jones St., New York City

## "Home Rule" in New York

BY WILLIS MUNRO.

In New York the city is strongly Democratic, the state, "above the Bronx," is more strongly Republican. The Bronx, supposed to be named for an early Dutchman named Bronch, whose farm was situated in the district, is the most northerly of the five boroughs into which the present charter divides the city. It is also the name of an attractive little stream which rises to the north of the city, flows south and east through our beautiful Bronx Park and empties into the East River, between the Harlem and Long Island Sound.

In the city during the past thirty or forty years, as successive Tammany boards of aldermen have abused their powers, the Republican minority and their friends, the reformers, have rushed to Albany, and, assisted by the men "up the State," have stripped away one function after another until at the time the greater city was formed the aldermen amounted to little more than purveyors of licenses for news-stands and hucksters. The effect of this general and well-grounded distrust of the aldermen was that the charter of 1897 and the present charter of 1901 centered almost all power given to the city in the mayor and the board of Estimate and Apportionment. The powers of the aldermen were also somewhat increased and now include the power to grant franchises, to build and operate street railways, to "fix" salaries on the recommendation of the board of Estimate and Apportionment, and many others which sound well on a casual reading, but the exact effect of which cannot be determined without a careful study of the charter as a whole. The popular impression is that their power really amounts to nothing, but the writer believes it is greater than is generally supposed. Such power as they have is so constantly abused that we are now hearing renewed cries that it should be still further restricted.

A few examples will help us to understand the present situation. The first mayor of Greater New York was Van Wyck, who took office in January, 1897, for a four-year term. The district attorney of New York County, the old city of New York, elected for the same term was Asa Bird Gardiner. His office was so notoriously corrupt that in 1898 the legislature created the metropolitan election district, including the city of New York and one other county, with a state superintendent of elections and a large force of deputies, to enforce the election laws within the district. The governor appointed as superintendent a former (Republican) chief of police. At about the same time the power to prosecute election cases was taken from the district attorney and given to the attorney-general. Subsequently Gardiner was removed by Theodore Roosevelt, then governor, and Eugene A. Phellin appointed. The charter was also amended, reducing the term of the mayor from four years to two. The scandals of Van Wyck's administration made possible the election of Seth Low as mayor for a two-year term and William Travers Jerome as district attorney of New York County for four years.

Low did much to clean up the city, but at the end of his term Tammany swept the city, ignoring local issues and making the fight on the basis of "a Democratic president next year." This campaign convinced Republicans and reformers that permanent good government in New York City was impossible until the city obtained the power to decide for itself the question of opening the saloons on Sunday.

In January a local option bill for New York City was introduced into the legislature and a few days later Governor Odell astonished everyone by announcing that he was in favor of granting all the cities of the first and second classes a greatly increased measure of home rule. The Democratic leader in the assembly promptly

introduced a most sweeping bill abolishing practically all state control in the city. The governor is still conferring on the subject with Republican leaders, and no bill has yet been introduced which represents his views.

Meanwhile the aldermen seem to be doing all in their power to show themselves unworthy of the increased responsibilities which are likely to be granted them. There has long been an active demand in the Bronx for increased transit facilities. The Portchester railroad having complied with all necessary formalities, applied months ago to the aldermen for permission to use certain streets necessary for their line. The Westchester road, the very corporate existence of which is extremely doubtful, as it is attempting to operate under a charter which seems to have lapsed, and which has complied with none of the numerous other formalities necessary, recently applied to the aldermen for permission to use the same streets for its road. At the last meeting of the aldermen on February 9th, the board by a vote of about 54 to 14 gave the necessary permission to the Westchester road. Strong arguments were made by the minority for a reasonable delay to secure the opinion of the corporation counsel on some of the legal questions involved, but McCall, the Tammany leader, declared that he was in favor of giving franchises to both roads and letting them fight it out in the courts. Later he appeared with a telegram in his hand and announced that he had just had news from Albany, and that if even two weeks' delay was granted the power to grant the franchise may be taken from the board. On the strength of that the measure was passed.

Friends of good government here feel that home rule will mean scandals and bad government, possibly for many years, but that bad government with the responsibility definitely fixed upon Tammany Hall, so it cannot be shifted up to Albany, will eventually result in educating the voters and their aldermen to a point where good government will result.

### Unique and Promising Enterprise

The Young Women's Chelsea Club, as it is called, has hired a three-story and basement house with extension in the rear at 417 West 21st street, New York. It will accommodate twenty or more young women. The price of room and board ranges from \$3.50 to \$5.00 a week. There is a parlor for the residents and a reading room and game room for non-resident club members. This club was started about a year and a half ago, especially for the young women living in the cheap boarding houses in this part of the city. It was found that the young women lived mostly in hall bedrooms, very small and with no heat; moreover in these cheap boarding houses the parlor and dining room would be let out to boarders so that there is no place in the house where the young woman may receive their guests except in their own bedrooms. The consequences may be imagined and may be said to be almost inevitable. Owing to some exceedingly sad instances that had come to the notice of some of the workers of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the club was started by this church and was given a room in the parish house, at the corner of Ninth avenue and 28th street. It grew and did good work. Some good friends took a lively interest in its welfare. Finally one good friend offered to pay the rent of the clubhouse for one year if we felt that we could undertake such an ambitious scheme.

An advisory committee secured the funds for the furnishing of the house and for helping the members of the club to carry it on. The girls themselves are taking more and more responsibility of the undertaking and it is hoped that the receipts from the resident and non-resident members (the non-resident pay 25 cents per month) will after a while be sufficient to pay the expenses of the maintenance including the rent. This is a most ambitious undertaking and, if successful, will lead to the starting of similar clubs throughout this and other states.

# Tuberculosis in Clothing Trades

By Henry White

General Secretary of the United Garment Workers of America

The United Garment Workers are about to carry the war against tuberculosis into the enemy's country by undertaking a crusade against the disease in the clothing shops of Greater New York. The general office, in conjunction with a committee of eminent physicians and public men, has taken the matter in hand, and the campaign is to be vigorously prosecuted. A systematic inspection will be inaugurated with the aid of the business agents of the different local unions, so as to ascertain the sanitary condition of the shops and cause the observance of precautions that would tend to eliminate the disease so largely prevalent in the congested districts where the making of clothing is centralized. It is proposed to interest the operatives in the subject and enlist their co-operation. Rules are to be posted in all the shops for their guidance in the different languages, and circulars and pamphlets are to be distributed, so as to acquaint the workers with the nature and gravity of the disease and the necessity for following the instructions of the best authorities. In this way it is hoped to effectively cope, so far as the industry is concerned, with the dread scourge that has so sorely afflicted mankind.

As a preliminary step a joint committee meeting was held on Thursday, January 14, at 105 East Twenty-second street, which was attended by Charles F. Cox, chairman; Hermann M. Biggs, M. D.; Edward T. Devine, Robert Hunter, E. G. Janeway, M. D.; S. A. Knopf, M. D., and others representing the tuberculosis committee, and Henry White and J. W. Sullivan, representing the general office.

In the general discussion Mr. Robert Hunter said that during a recent visit in Germany he found that everywhere the workingmen's organizations have taken up a systematic crusade against consumption. A feeling has been aroused among the masses of the people that here is a direct means for accomplishing a great good. Public sanatoria are in operation in various parts of the country, especially about Berlin, largely conducted by workingmen's organizations, which have voted large sums to the central bureau in Berlin.

In London Mr. Hunter found that Alfred Hillier, representing the Friendly Society, and other prominent men in the workingmen's organizations have gathered evidence on the question from home and abroad and are proceeding in a democratic method in attacking the disease. To arouse interest articles have been published in the various craft journals, circulars issued among the wage-workers, which evidently have been carefully read, and the people are proceeding practically in the matter. No better way could be found than to get the information as to tuberculosis in the columns of the labor journals. The trade unions may be expected in defense of

their members to take up the subjects of ventilation and other forms of sanitation and of impressing their members with the main facts known as to consumption. Dr. Panwitz, secretary of the Berlin committee, has stated that without the active assistance of the workingmen's societies the present state of knowledge in Germany would never have been reached.

The writer, as general secretary of the United Garment Workers, said that he had no doubt that the facilities of the national union to disseminate the information would be placed at the disposal of the committee, and that the unions themselves would also appoint committees on the subject. In New York the unions of the clothing trade represent many thousand men, who, while themselves generally working in factories under better conditions than have been known to the trade, will be found ready to assist in driving consumption from the shops. It is really a great public question, since clothing exposed for sale in many of the finest Broadway and Fifth avenue shops is finished by Italian women in their tenement homes under conditions so repellent as to be indescribable. In the trade unions exists a means for informing the masses, perhaps the only means by which the committee can bring their information systematically before the people.

Upon motion, therefore, it was decided to recommend to the trades unions the formation of committees which could co-operate with the tuberculosis committee in holding meetings and distributing printed matter. The business agents of the local tailors' unions have agreed to place in the shops placards in the different languages containing the rules to be observed for protection against the disease.

Such action opens up a new field of usefulness for the unions, which, by co-operating with the health authorities for the enforcement of sanitary rules, can do much, not only to benefit their members, but also the general public.

## The Greek Play in New York

The success of the "Ajax" of Sophocles, as rendered by the Greeks of Chicago under the masterful management of Miss Barrows and the inspiring auspices of Hull House, was graphically described by Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows in the January number of *The Commons*. We are glad to note the announcement that it is to be produced by Miss Barrows in Clinton Hall, New York City, on March 24, 25 and 26, under the auspices of the five downtown settlements. It is interesting to note that some of the leading men in the east at Chicago do much to assure the success of the play in New York by going there to take their parts.

# Chicago Movement for Social Service Training

The Social Science Center recently established by the extension division of the University of Chicago, under Professor Graham Taylor's direction, continues to grow in interest and attendance. The second and third series of lecture-studies include the following courses:

Second series on "Personal, Institutional and Public Effort for Dependents."

By Prof. Charles Henderson, University of Chicago, on "Causes of Dependence," "Tests and Investigations," "Division of Labor in Charity," "Personal Influence in Charity," "The Principle of Thrift in Charity Work" and "The Studies of Charity Workers."

By Alexander Johnson, former Superintendent Indiana School for the Feeble-Minded, on "Institutional Care of the Dependent and Defective Adult" and "Institutional Care and Training of Juvenile Defectives."

By Robert Hunter, New York City, on "Poverty at Home and Abroad," "Pauperism" and "Immigration."

By Miss Julia C. Lathrop, formerly of the Illinois State Board of Charities, on "Medical Charities," "The English Poor Law; Its Relation to American Public Charities;" "Public Charities of a Typical State" and the "Public Care of the Insane."

By Dr. Hastings H. Hart, Superintendent Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, on "The Care of Dependent and Delinquent Children," "Institutional Care of Dependent Children" and "Care of Dependent and Delinquent Children in Family Homes."

By Miss Harriet Fulmer and Dr. William A. Evans, on "The System of District Nursing and the Effort to Meet the Tuberculosis Problem in Chicago."

By Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell, Chicago Bureau of Charities, on "Prison and Jail Systems" and "Public Charities of City and County."

By John J. Sloan, Superintendent House of Correction, Chicago, on "Legitimate Prison Industries."

By J. Emery Lyon, Superintendent Central Howard Association, on "Society and the Prisoner."

By Judge Julian W. Mack, on "Methods of Securing Financial Support for Charitable Purposes."

Third series, on "Preoccupying and Preventive Policy, Agencies and Methods."

By Raymond Robins, City Homes Association, Chicago, on "Summary of Legislation on Housing, Compulsory Education, Child Labor, Sale of Liquors to Minors, Vagrancy, etc."

By Professor Charles Zueblin, University of Chicago, on "Improved Dwellings, Open Spaces, Public Playgrounds and Parks" and "Co-operative Trading Associations."

By Miss Mary E. McDowell, University of

Chicago Settlement, on "Extension of the Public School and Educational Agencies to Meet Social Needs by Vacation Schools, Neighborhood Centers, etc."

By George W. Perkins, Cigarmakers' International Union, on "Insurance Benefits of Trades Unions."

By Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, on "Function of Social Settlements."

By Professor Graham Taylor, on "Province of the Public Support and Management of Social Utilities" and "Ethical and Religious Resources."

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